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LATENT AUGUST: Japanese Americans and Atomic Bomb Memory at a Crossroads of Transpacific Movements, Colonialism, and Activism(Digest_要約)

AUTHOR(S):

Uchino, Crystal Kimi

CITATION:

Uchino, Crystal Kimi. LATENT AUGUST: Japanese Americans and Atomic Bomb Memory at a Crossroads of Transpacific Movements, Colonialism, and Activism. 京都大学, 2019, 博士(人間・環境学)

ISSUE DATE:

2019-07-23

URL:

<https://doi.org/10.14989/doctor.k22020>

RIGHT:

学位規則第9条第2項により要約公開

論 文 要 約

論文題目 LATENT AUGUST: Japanese Americans and Atomic Bomb Memory at a Crossroads of Transpacific Movements, Colonialism, and Activism
(LATENT AUGUST: 太平洋横断的移動と植民地主義、人権運動のクロスロードにおける日系アメリカ人と原爆記憶)

申 請 者 Crystal Kimi Uchino (内野 クリスタル 紀美)

In this dissertation, the author explores the nexus of Japanese American transpacific history and the memory of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. By examining memoirs, oral history interviews, newspaper articles and other archival documents this dissertation analyzes Japanese American experiences of and actions to remember as well as influence discourse about the atomic bomb. In doing so it approaches a historiographical gap between: (a) Japanese American history; and (b) critical studies on the atomic bomb. Analyzing how the movements, actions, dilemmas and experiences of various Japanese Americans over several decades intersected with the history and memory of the atomic bomb, this study has three aims: first, to contribute to and complicate knowledge about Japanese American history; second, to contribute to critical studies on atomic bomb memory; and third, to contribute to the growing field of transpacific studies.

Employing a methodology of transnational history, analysis focuses on the movement of Japanese Americans in multiple directions across the pacific, as well as the complex ways Japanese Americans engaged with ideas, and politics across borders. It also looked at how the memory of the atomic bomb in the Japanese American community

changed over time from suppression to commemoration and even critique. Composed of six chapters, it demonstrates how the transnational movements, actions, dilemmas and experiences of a various demographics of Japanese Americans over several decades intersected with the history and memory of the atomic bomb. The first three chapters explore Japanese American migrations in the Pacific, highlighting the substantial and diverse connections that Japanese immigrants and their descendants had to Hiroshima. Analysis provides insight into the ways the Second World War limited the freedoms of Japanese Americans in the United States and Japan as well as the tragic ways the war separated families across the Pacific. Analysis sheds light on the multiple ways that Japanese Americans on both sides of the Pacific were directly and indirectly impacted by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and how those experiences were marginalized and suppressed in the years that followed.

The latter three chapters examine Japanese American actions to recall the atomic bomb since the 1970s. Analysis in these chapters focuses particularly on how Japanese Americans have represented the atomic bomb, what was unique about the discourses they created, and how Japanese American discursive engagement with the memory of the atomic bomb shifted over time. Analysis focusing on the Japanese American critique of the atomic bomb, both in the 1970s and in 1995, in particular, highlights the productive possibilities of grappling with issues of Japanese colonial violence alongside those of American imperialism and colonization when addressing the memory of the atomic bomb.

Chapter one examines the opportunities and dilemmas of Hawai'i-born Leslie Nakashima, whose eyewitness report on the aftermath of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, dated August 27, 1945, was the first to appear in any western media. Despite being syndicated in dozens of newspapers across America, and Nakashima's near celebrity status in the Japanese American pre-war community, both his news story and his personal story

have been largely overlooked by later writers on the atomic bomb and completely left out of Japanese American history. Based on analysis of newspaper articles written by and about the journalist; personal memoirs; correspondence; as well as government and legal documents, this chapter suggests Nakashima's abjection from history resulted from aspects of Japanese American transpacific subjectivity that became particularly troubling after 1941. Analysis in this chapter shows how Japanese American transpacific subjectivity stretched beyond what could be delimited by constructions of "nation" and its constituents in both Japan and the United States.

The second chapter explores Japanese American connections to Hiroshima as counter-memories that challenge dominant accounts of both Japanese American history and nation-centered paradigms of the atomic bomb. In particular it considers the gap between how the atomic bomb was represented in the Japanese American public sphere and private sentiments about the atomic bomb disclosed in Japanese American memoirs and other first-person recollections; the pre-war, wartime, and post-war experiences of Japanese American *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors); and the activities of Japanese Americans who raised funds for Hiroshima-Nagasaki post-bomb recovery and reconstruction. The discussion suggests that these counter-memories reveal a historically suppressed grief and identification that fell outside the limit of "American-ness," but also the inadequacy of binary representations of victim/hero tropes in the nation-centered narratives of the atomic bomb in both Japan and the United States. Complicating the idea that Japanese Americans were simply loyal citizens or innocent victims of war, it suggests that Japanese Americans, before, during, and after the war were complicit and disruptive presences who negotiated constrained subjectivities "between" Japan and the United States.

Emphasis in the third chapter is placed on how gender, race, nation and citizenship conditioned the Cold War construction of dominant narratives about the atomic bomb or

Japanese Americans. It does so through an analysis of exclusions that took place along two overlapping trajectories, one based primarily in the US, the other in Japan. The first contrasts the experiences of two groups in America: *Hibakusha* who returned to or immigrated to the United States after 1945 and the Hiroshima Maidens. It finds the former was largely forgotten and remained hidden from public sight, while the other attained a kind of celebrity status as a hyperbolic testament to American goodness. The second half of the chapter reviews the experiences of Korean *hibakusha* and re-examines the expulsion of Isamu Noguchi from Hiroshima's Peace Park Project. Through these examples, it uncovers how the marginality of Japanese American *hibakusha* experiences and Japanese American atomic bomb memories were consolidated by the contours of postwar international diplomacy, Cold War racial liberalization in the United States, and the construction of Hiroshima/peace as a Japanese national narrative.

The discussion of Japanese American transnational subjects like Leslie Nakashima, Isamu Noguchi, and the thousands of Japanese American atomic bomb survivors reveal the complex ways Japanese American transpacific experiences could not be fitted into the dominant (domestic) narrative of Japanese American history with its emphasis on loyalty. The experiences of Japanese American *hibakusha* were particularly illegible and troubling. They weren't in the camps or "fighting for American democracy," they were in places like Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The discussion of Japanese American *hibakusha* in this study makes a contribution to critical studies on the atomic bomb by clarifying the ways dominant narratives have contoured the boundaries of who could be recognized in the *hibakusha* neologism and who could not, who had an allowable stake in atomic bomb memory and who was barred from it.

Chapter four considers the significance of overt and abstract manifestations of atomic memory that appeared across a spectrum of minor transnational Asian American

activism between 1968 and 1982. Analysis focused on the discourse about the atomic bomb produced by activists who participated in the Asian American movement and the struggle for medical rights for Japanese American *hibakusha*. By interpreting Hiroshima-Nagasaki memory as an apparatus of pan-ethnic and transnational solidarity, it shows how the memory of the atomic bomb acted as a vehicle for Asian American activist to transgress boundaries of racial categorization and national citizenship as they sought to confront colonial legacies and neocolonialism domestically and abroad.

Chapter five shifts the gaze from the micro-histories of individuals and subgroups to a focus on mainstream Japanese American latent engagements with the history and legacy of the atomic bomb in 1995. Analysis focused on the critical discourse about the atomic bomb in Japanese American newspapers in California, as well as an art exhibition entitled, “Latent August: The Legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki,” that took place in San Francisco. It examined several conditions that came together in 1995 to allow for the emergence of a critique of the atomic bomb in the mainstream Japanese American public sphere. In contrasting the success of the “Latent August” exhibition, and the many critical views about the atomic bomb expressed by Japanese Americans, against the controversial failure of a proposed exhibition of the *Enola Gay*—the aircraft that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima—at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum (1994-1995), it analyzed the productive possibilities of Japanese American engagement with the memory of the atomic bomb. Analysis in this chapter suggests that the significance of the Japanese American critique of the atomic bomb is not simply that it presented a response to the hiding of the truth by the American national hegemonic narrative, but also that it attempted to reckon with issues of racialization, colonization and war both domestically and across the Pacific.

The final chapter of this dissertation places the 2016 visit by President Obama to Hiroshima in conversation with the transnational histories and critiques discussed throughout the previous ones. Unpacking some of the paradoxes of the president's visit (and atomic bomb memory more generally), it examines how nuclear, racial and colonial histories intersected in the foreground of public politics on May 27, 2016. More specifically, it considers the following three things: the conflict between Obama's antinuclear roots—which place him within a historic continuum of broad based, anti-racist, and transnational antinuclear struggle—and the politics of unapology; the neglect of the president to include the several thousand Japanese American *hibakusha* among those victimized by the bomb in his remarks at Hiroshima's memorial, despite a postcard campaign by them earlier in the year urging his visit; and the efforts and counter perspectives of *hibakusha* who travelled from Hapcheon, South Korea to Hiroshima to demand an apology from both the US and Japan. The discussion in this chapter reveals how amnesia over certain racial and colonial layers in (American and Japanese national) narratives of the atomic bomb and the Asia-Pacific War remains a contested domain of atomic bomb memory, and how the present construction of speakable national narratives continues to be reliant on certain exclusions.

In the conclusion, the author suggests that Japanese American engagement with the memory of the atomic bomb exposes another way that the historical phenomenon of the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has exceeded what we are able to talk about, while at the same time offering a fresh critical perspective to do so.